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The Uighurs do not seem to possess the same propensity for song as the nomadic Turks, where the song literally lives with the people and describes every aspect of their lives. Uighur songs are considerably more individualistic than those of the nomads. They show none of the zest and strength of the nomadic songs and with a few exceptions are rather lyrics on personal themes. The majority of the songs which have been collected are love songs, primarily concerned with rejected love. They are highly erotic, ornamental, pictorial and sometimes almost dreamlike and show markedly the influence of Iranian lyrics, as in the following example:

533

On whatever path you may be walking
There I shall walk too.
If you are a flower blossom
I shall be its leaf.
The peach has blossomed, oh my love
On your body.
I have become a bad one,
Lying on your bosom, oh my love.
How beautifully you danced
In circling movements
Among our friends
Appearing in beauty.
Do you want to leave?
Who insulted you that you wish to go away?
You have left my body,
Whither will you bring my soul?

You cannot know, my love
The pain which is inside me.
I have burned myself on the flame of love.
You could not stand it if it were you who was burned.
The waters of Kara Hodzha
Flow from shaded gardens,
The dark-browed, beautiful young woman
Lights the flames of love in the heart.
My love, did you come to see me?
Or to burn me with the flames of love?

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533 Did you come, oh my love, to revive
The fire which first you enflamed
And then extinguished . . . ?[82]

Side by side with these personal songs, so strongly influenced by the Iranian poetic tradition, there is a small group of songs which are not personal in character, but are concerned with the past of the Uighur people. These are the songs which the Uighurs call *kuchak* or *kuchuk* and which Grenard defines as ballads, which are in essence "very short epics."[83] These songs are probably the closest approach of Uighur art to an epic tradition. In form at least they contain many epic stylistic devices, such as frequent repetition of key phrases and strongly rhythmic verse. It is only the form of these songs, however, which is reminiscent of the epos. Their content, as we shall see later, is usually not epic in character.

The *kuchuk* is not as alive among the Uighurs as the epic song is among the nomads. Grenard remarks on the difficulties he had in recording these songs because of the scarcity of people who knew them. Of the few people he found who were able to recall some of the *kuchuk*, only a few were able to recite more than part of the song.[84] This is in strong contrast to the nomadic cultures, where the epic tradition is still so strong that almost everybody can recite at least parts of an epic poem.

Most of the *kuchuk* which were recorded by Grenard tell of the Yakub Beg revolt, which is depicted as a purely religious war, the sole aim of which was to "raise the banner of Islam" against the Chinese infidels. There is nothing epic in the content of these songs. There are no descriptions of the brave, conquering hero who symbolizes the feeling of strength of the tribe, which we find in the epics of the nomads. On the contrary, here the hero does not conquer, but suffers a martyr's fate, as a result of his faith and his participation in the revolt. It is interesting to note that there

[82] Le Coq, *op. cit.*, pp. 51–53.
[83] F. Grenard, *Mission scientifique dans la haute Asie*, Paris, 1898, III, p. 83.
[84] Grenard, *op. cit.*, III, p. 85.

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is not even an epic treatment of Yakub Beg himself (at least as far as Grenard's records, the only ones of the *Kuchuk*, indicate), although he would certainly have been the most likely figure to become a legendary national hero. He is only fleetingly mentioned in one of the songs as "the martyr of Kurla" (the place of his death).[35] In contrast to nomadic songs and epics about similar situations of revolt against a foreign intruder, the Uighur songs display no spirit of defiance and national resistance, no feeling of nationalism and social cohesion. They rather show a melancholy spirit of defeat and resignation to defeat. The events described in these songs are not the broader aspects of the national history of the Uighurs, but only specific events in a specific locality.

Typical of this melancholy treatment of a heroic epoch is the *kuchuk* about Mahmud Khan, a functionary of Yakub Beg in Artysh (a large village northeast of Kashgar), who was exiled by the Chinese to Komul.

If you come to the house of flowers,
You will see only wilted flowers . . .
When will Mahmud Khan return to his own town of Artysh?
Mahmud Khan is walking on the summit of the mountain of Komul,
A gun in his hands and a tear in his dark eyes. . . .
Mahmud Khan's children have become orphans.
Have you no more strength, Mahmud Khan?
Mahmud Khan has left Kashgar.
If he were still there, justice would be dealt out equitably
And the prayers of the orphans and of the travelers could be heard. . . .[36]

There are many more Taranchi texts than texts of the Uighur proper, because of the great interest of the Russians in folklore. Taranchi oral art seems to be identical with that of the Uighurs, with one major addition — the oral art which has sprung up since the settling of the Taranchis in the Ili Valley. This "newer" folk-

[35] *Ibid.*, III, p. 100.
[36] *Op. cit.*, III, pp. 100–103.

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533 lore is concerned with the tragic fate of a people driven from their homeland and forcefully settled in a foreign region. These Taranchi songs and tales are full of bitter complaints about oppression by the Chinese, about forced labor and about the constant struggle of the Taranchis for their rights against the Chinese, and are interesting because, unlike most Uighur folklore, they are not concerned with personal, private matters and grief, but with the social grief and oppression of a whole people.

A great tyrant by the name of Gong became Chiang Chun in the Ili Mountains,
He said: We must take a tax from the rich Taranchi . . .
[But] the imposition of taxes exceeded all measures of oppression.
Demanding taxes, they hit and beat the Taranchi and bound their hands.
The Chiang Chun lost all his sense. The cup overflowed and poured over.
Not finding means to pay the heavy taxes, the people had to sell their beloved children.
They took camels and horses from the rich and bread from the poor.[37]

These mountains, high mountains, impede the road of the poor.
If a poor man dies, who will cry over him? Only a poor man will cry over a poor man.
The tears of the resettled people have not dried yet on the Yamatu Ford and on the road to Tokuztara.[38]

Taranchi prose tales frequently exhibit the same kind of subject matter. A typical tale is the story of Nozugum.[39] This tale, which has a strong epic character, tells of the defeat of the Muslim rising against the Chinese in Kashgar. The Chinese massacre the men and send the women to Ili as wives for the Kalmuks. The

[37] *Ibid.*, N. N. Pantusov, *The War of the Moslems against the Chinese*, Introduction, Kazan, 1881, pp. 11–12 (in Russian).
[38] *Ibid.*, pp. 3–4.
[39] Pantusov, *Obraztsy*, pp. 49–60.

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heroine of the tale is the brave woman Nozugum, who refuses to be married to an infidel and repeatedly tries to flee. She is finally executed by the Chinese and worshiped by her people as a martyr. The tale ends with a versified moral which reflects the strong spirit of national resistance, evidenced in so much of Taranchi oral art:

If a woman is like you, Nozugum, honest and pure,
Why should she fear the Chinese criminals?
If such be the action of women
Then these women will taste the joys of paradise.
May God have mercy on the soul of Nozugum,
May she achieve the virtues of a great martyr.

Although religious ideas and religious leaders have played an important part in Uighur society, it is possible to exaggerate their importance. A case in point is the common assertion by Western writers, who base themselves mainly on Uighur informants, that the great uprisings in the second half of the nineteenth century were initiated by representatives of the Moslem clergy. Unpublished documents by Uighur eyewitnesses of the uprisings indicate, however, that they began among the peasantry and the poor of the cities.[40] Representatives of the Moslem aristocracy joined the movement later and made themselves the leaders.

The chief cultural heritage of the Kazakhs is in their folklore and music; the two combine in their epic poetry. In addition there is a body of literature known as the "book songs," predominantly religious in character, which were written for the propagation of Islam.

Unlike the literature and oral art of the Uighurs, Kazakh folk art is primarily social, concerned with the collective problems of

[40] During such risings, and especially in the period of turmoil under Yakub Beg, many people fled into Russian territory. Both the Tsarist officials and interested scholars took down a great many "depositions" or personal narratives of these refugees. The University of Kazan, which because it was in the heart of the Russian Tatar region was an important center of Turkic studies, became the great repository of such documents; many of which, however, were not carefully studied until after the Bolshevik Revolution.

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538 clans and tribes, or of the Kazakh nation. Through the efforts of
533 Russian ethnographers, a vast number of ancient legends, songs, and epics have been preserved which are the property not only of the wandering bards but of the whole nation, parts of them being known to every nomad. Many of the epics are not purely national in character, but are handed from people to people. Thus there are many epics which are equally famous among the Kazakhs and the Kirghiz, or the Kazakhs and the Oirat.

The Kazakhs are an extremely musical people and the song and the epos which are sung by wandering improvising singers to the accompaniment of a primitive stringed instrument, the *dombra,* represent the greater part of their folklore heritage. Every phase of life is recorded in songs: birth, marriage, battle, joy, unhappiness, death. The nineteenth century Kazakh writer and educator Abai Kunanbaev characterized the importance of the song in the life of the Kazakh nation in a poem in which he said:

> The song will open the door to the world for you
> The song will open the door of death for you.
> Listen to it, Kazakh, follow its wisdom.
> The song travels with you all your life.[41]

Songs are not only sung and spread by the wandering professional bards, but are part of the daily life of the people. A popular part of a Kazakh celebration is the singing competition between two individuals. In such duels, both the words and music are entirely improvised and the winner is the one who can improvise the longest.

533 Of particular interest are the prescribed songs, sung on occa-
585 sions such as weddings and funerals, which provide a striking insight into the cultural and social life of the people. These, in
538 contrast to the other songs of the Kazakhs, have fixed texts and music. Thus the traditional wedding song (*Zhar-Zhar*) clearly reflects the role of the woman in society. The majority of wedding songs have dramatic content and consist of a dialoguelike singing

[41] Abdykalykov and Pankratova, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

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between a group of young girls and a group of young men. They echo the old custom of bride purchase, marriage often against the will of the partners, the inheritance of the wife of the deceased by his successor in the family, and in general the totally subordinate position of the woman. The gay chorus of the young men asks the girl to hurry with the marriage. This is answered by the sad chorus of the girls, bewailing their loss of freedom.

Other traditional forms are the farewell song (*koshtasu*), the song of sad news (*estirtu*), and the mourning song (*zhoktau*). The farewell song has many variations, as have the other traditional songs. It might be composed by a dying father or mother, telling the family of last wishes, speaking of the heaviness of parting from life and of unfulfilled dreams. Another favorite type of farewell song is the farewell to the family and the native land. In the period of forced migrations due to outside aggression, these songs were particularly widespread. Thus for instance there is preserved today a farewell song, composed by the famous eighteenth century *akyn* (bard) Bukhar Zhirau on the occasion of the forced migration of a group of the Kazakhs from their traditional grazing grounds as a result of pressure from the Jungars:

A caravan is marching from the heights of the Kara Tau . . .
How hard it is to bid good-by to our native land!
Tears stream from dark eyes . . .
What times must we live in! Oh, times of misery!
The tears from my eyes form seas and lakes.
What times of hardship!
Happiness and richness have forsaken us.
Dust rises from the wandering caravan —
Worse than the icy storms of December.[42]

As among other nomads, tales and legends play a great role among the Kazakhs. While Kazakh tales show the strong influence of neighboring cultures, and particularly of the *Arabian Nights*, there are also many original tales of magic, animal tales — which

[42] Abdykalykov, Pankratova, *op. cit.*, pp. 170–171.

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use in the same way as the Persian traveller uses his fastest mule; on this animal, called the *abdari* mule, he puts his bedding, his prayer-carpet, his samovar and cups, his water-jug, some food and his personal servant. This is a good plan, for it minimizes the discomfort of arriving at a cheerless *manzil* (stage) long before one's caravan.

No less than four different farewell tea-drinkings at various points along the road leading out of Yarkand delayed our final departure till nearly midday. Two hours' trot-and-canter through a perfectly flat country of wide fields, heavy timber, canals and prosperous-looking farms brought us to the house of a wealthy British subject of Chitral extraction who had a complicated dispute concerning rights of way and water with his next-door neighbour, a Kashmiri colonist. After toying for a while with various dishes and sipping tea, D. went in to see the ladies of the house and I sallied forth with the parties and went over the points in dispute with them on the spot. When I thought that the incessant cross-fire of argument and vociferation from both sides (so like the Indian and so unlike the easy-going Turki) had continued long enough I cut it short by firmly framing issues and referring them to a more or less unwilling committee of greybeards with strict injunctions to submit their decisions on my return from Keriya. No one will be more surprised than myself if well-thought-out replies on all issues are handed in to me by the arbitrators in due course; my hope merely is that the greybeards in question will succeed in bringing about a reconciliation between the parties and thus free themselves from the responsibility of deciding on my issues.

A few miles further on we came to the Yarkand or (as it is called lower down) Tarim River, an interesting stream. Its upper reaches drain some of the most difficult country in the world, the untrodden solitudes of Oprang and the terrible Raskam gorges on the north side of the main Karakoram range; then for a thousand miles it forces its way through the dread Takla Makan Desert, only to lose itself at last in the lakes and marshes of Lop Nor, last remnant of what was once a great Central Asian Sea. In November the various channels can be forded easily on horseback; but the volume both of water and of traffic in summer is shown by the number of large, clumsy ferry-boats one sees pulled up on the beach on both sides of the two main channels.

Posgam is a new district which has been carved out of the unwieldy Karghalik charge and placed under a Magistrate of the third class. A Yamen and fine new bazaars are being built of timber by the Chinese to the east of the village. This is only one of several new districts, the formation of which has been necessitated by the increase of population and the spread of cultivation during the last thirty years.

*Karghalik, 13th November, 1922.*

We had a remarkable experience yesterday when two squadrons of cavalry turned out in force to escort us into this town. One of them with its band and numerous banners marched in front of us, and the other with its band and even more banners brought up the rear. The bands both played at the same time, but their repertoire being limited they filled in the gaps by playing scales on their trumpets against one another. Just as the rear band was starting with its

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lowest note, like the dying moo of ten thousand stricken kine, the one in front would be finishing with its highest, which resembled a similar number of nails being drawn across a gigantic pane of glass. Each note went on for about two minutes, in an irregular diminuendo and crescendo as the various trumpeters lost their breaths and found them again. We have christened this performance "Ma noises" after the gallant Commandant, Captain Ma, a son-in-law of the Titai.

Apart from the dust they raise and the excruciating sounds they emit, the Karghalik Cavalry and their band are a pure joy. Yesterday as we rode past the guard of honour the *beau sabreur* in command gave us the "officer's salute" with the utmost smartness. I was much impressed and rode past wreathed in smiles, my hat raised with due civilian humility. The effect, however, was somewhat spoilt when, the officer's charger becoming restive, he whacked it soundly on the quarters with the flat of his sword several times before returning to the correct position! On another occasion, coming suddenly round a corner upon the cavalry, we caught the "Ma noise" merchant who led the band napping without his trumpet. Frantic shouting and hurrying to and fro, and all seemed lost, until the small street-boy who had been practising with the trumpet across the road dashed over and handed it to its rightful owner, who blew his first ear-splitting C just in time to make our horses shy as we passed. The situation was saved!

The presence of so many mounted troops here must have something to do with the fact that the grazing in the mountains above Karghalik is very good and it is a great horse-producing country, witness the thousands of ponies working on the Leh route which are owned by Karghalik carriers. The Amban here is a Manchu, the only Magistrate of that redoubtable race we have in Kashgaria; one notices at once the difference in type, the upper part of his face being almost like a European's, not flat like that of a Chinese.

*Karghalik, 15th November.*

The dinner with which we were entertained to-day at the Yamen was unique in that three Chinese ladies were present, including our Manchu host's wife, next whom I sat just as if she had been a "foreign devil" like myself. It was most interesting. The ladies were shy at first, but when D. and our Chinese secretary had succeeded in putting them at their ease they thoroughly entered into the joke and the party went very well. There were also some children present, one of whom, a girl of ten, was as pretty as a picture, and knew it; sad to say, she was painted up to the eyes. An amusing interlude was when an old and battered tin of asparagus was produced and our host asked me to read him the instructions. He explained that it had been given him by a former English traveller who had dined with him, but he had not been able to have it for dinner as no one in his household could read the instructions. We are now wondering how long it will be before symptoms of botulism appear.

*Goma, 18th November.*

Owing to the extreme knottiness of the points raised by the Amban, I had to extend our stay at Karghalik from three days to six; this

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105 563 centuries, and even now that Faith is noticeably weaker here and paganism stronger than at Yarkand or Kashgar. With this fact is undoubtedly connected—whether as cause or effect it is difficult to say—Khotan's pre-eminence in arts and crafts. As I have already remarked, its people weave better, embroider better, work metal better and design more artistically than those of any other oasis in the province, not even excepting Kucha. At Khotan, singing and playing are not a monopoly of the professionals, but are practised by all classes; D. tells me that the dancing at the women's parties is noticeably more natural and lively than the somewhat stilted (though never ungraceful) measures danced by the beauties of Kashgar.

535 The following is an account from one of D's. letters of the dancing at a typical Kashgar "purdah party."

> "When the food had been cleared away, the three musicians set up a song and a lively tune on the guitar and tambourine. After a becoming hesitation one of the guests got up and danced. It was curious dancing, rhythmical, rather stiff, without much variety in the steps, but a great deal of graceful arm-work, yet quite different from the typical Indian nautch. As she danced, one by one the other guests rose, walked up to her with money in their hands, passed their arms over her head, and then dropped the money into a tray in front of the musicians. When every one including myself had given something, the dancer turned to one of the other guests and danced in front of her until she got up and took the floor, when the first one subsided into a corner. This process was repeated until all the guests had danced except myself. During the dancing of each guest all the others put money into the musicians' tray with the same ceremonial, often only a copper or two, but always something. Some of the richer ones dropped presents of Indian cloth of gold, Chinese silk or Russian velvet, into the musicians' tray. Then, as every one looked at me, I got up and gave them a Highland sword-dance, which was a huge success and brought the band large sums."

533 [534] The Eastern Turkis are a musical race. At Kashgar professional minstrels abound and are in request at every party. The instruments most commonly in use are the *dotar*, two-stringed guitar; the Persian *rabāb*, a six-stringed kind of mandoline; and the *dop* or tambourine. The *surnai* or pipe of Afghanistan is also occasionally heard. The ballad is still a living verse-form, and the troubadours of Artush are famous for their improvizations on any subject. Two days after the defeat and execution of the Titai a ribald ballad, which I took down later, was being sung about him in the streets. The young men and boys sing everywhere they go;

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their strong voices are quite untrained and the sounds they emit are sometimes astonishing, but one can detect traces of melody even among the saxophone-like warblings of the donkey-drivers. D. is not a great musician, and my ignorance on the subject is "extensive and peculiar," but it was impossible not to be struck by the tunefulness and intelligibility of the local music compared with that of India and (still more) of China Proper.

In the course of my studies of the Eastern Turki language I transcribed many of the songs sung by the beggars and wandering musicians. There is no more difficult task in a foreign language, and it was only with the invaluable assistance of Murad Qari that I was able to puzzle out and translate the words; Qari himself was more than once at fault, for some of the verses are very old and the singers themselves could not always explain them. The "Ballad of Said Nochi Gangung" is of Kashgari origin, and my favourite quatrain, "My white hawk hath flown from my hand," would seem from its reference to the hills of Besh Karim, to be the work of an Artush bard. But it was at Yarkand, Khotan and—of all places—Polu, high up among the wild gorges of the Kunlun south of Keriya, a few miles from the lofty northern rim of Tibet, that Qari and I found our best "bits." It was most surprising to find a strain of true poetry in so remote a place as Polu. At a feast I gave in the house of the *yuz-bashi* (headman), a simple affair of tea, bread and boiled sheep, with a singsong to follow, there was a thin-faced lad with a great sheepskin cap who twanged his guitar like a master and sang verses of his own composition which would have done credit to the shepherds of Arcadia or Sicily of old. The material I collected may be divided into songs of poverty and exile, love-songs, comic ditties and popular snatches of various kinds, and ballads. Here are some specimens, with a Turki original in each class to show the verse-form:

539

### (A) Songs of Poverty and Exile

(1)

*Atam surse, ānam surse, "Yuraidur" danglār*
*"Kungle ghamda, kuze yāshda yiglaidur" danglār.*

If my father ask you, if my mother ask you,
Say "He is distraught."
Say "His heart is sorrowful, his eyes are full of tears."
Say "He weeps for you."

/The Kirghiz/

000 before his father-in-law, it must be as a stranger. At this
563 stage, if the bride has proved to be unfaithful, the boy's father
586 may demand the bride price back and break off the marriage.

563 When the tent is finished, the bridegroom takes it and his
591 bride to his own home. If, after one year, the bride finds her
586 married life unsatisfactory, her father may return the bride price to her husband and the couple is divorced.

4. Work and leisure

563 General work around the tent is done entirely by women. The
462 women are strong, healthy, and energetic workers. They not
181 only do the housework, but they also milk the yaks, sheep, cows and goats, weave rugs, make rope and build and pitch the tents. Men, though strong and able to endure great hardships, incline
[517] toward indolence. They like to play the guitar far into the night.
[534] Nevertheless, they also have work to do. They cultivate the barley fields and look after the safety of the flocks and herds on the steep mountainsides.

563 The Kirghiz are sports-minded. Their most common game is
526 baiga, in which the carcass of a sheep or goat is the object of contention. Forty or fifty contestants, mounted on strong horses, strive for possession of the carcass. It is every man for himself. One man dashes forward with the carcass and the others pursue him, trying to tear it away from him. If he is unhorsed, by fair means or foul, he must yield up the trophy. A fast, furious, dangerous game, the Kirghiz love it. In it they display their remarkable horsemanship.

563 The Kirghiz love music and dancing. Only the men dance. The
535 music is provided by a dulcimer, a native banjo and a drum, and
534 much form and ceremony are involved in the dance.

D. The New Uighurs

563 1. The people

The New Uighurs are also called the Eastern Turks. They
[162] comprise about seventy per cent of the population in the southern
[131] part of Sinkiang Province, and some live north of the Tienshan Mountains wherever the soil is fit for agriculture. They are a farming people.

563 The New Uighurs are noted for their gentle character, their
181 honesty, hospitality and complaisance. Criminal offenses among them are very rare; they look upon such crimes as murder,
[674] arson and robbery with a sort of horror. Their houses are never
[342] locked, and their grain is stored in outside repositories.

[725] They are a people who love to make music. Their most com-
[534] mon instruments are the dotou, a two-stringed guitar, a six-stringed mandolin and the tambourine. Boys and young men sing
563 wherever they go, and there are singing beggars and wandering
533 minstrels. The people have love songs, ballads, comic ditties,

/The New Uighurs/

563 songs of poverty and exile, and popular songs of various kinds.
[533] The New Uighurs are great believers in the efficacy of local
[796] saints, and there are innumerable shrines all over their region
[798] dedicated to saints and heroes.

2. Patterns of living

563 a. Dwelling

342 Most of the people live in small hud houses called öy, or
[184] sometimes hānä, which resemble the simple earth, stone and reed-mat homes of the poor farmers of North China. Rich people live in well-built houses with courtyards and gardens.

The typical design of the house is a flat roof upon which small openings are left to serve as windows. The windowframes are equipped with folding shutters, and are closed at night during the winter. The window openings are so small they admit
[354] little light, and the interior is always in semi-darkness. Floor
[352] and walls are packed with reed mats and earth. The rear of the room is set apart by a partition of squared beams, and has a raised floor. This elevated section, its floor covered with reed mats and thick felt, serves as the bed and also the dining table. Most of the family's time at home is spent on this elevation. The door of the house is so low that one must bend down to pass through it. Almost every room has a chimney.

[251] The flat-topped roof of the house is used for drying grain and other agricultural products. Each house also has a veranda on
[352] which plank beds are constructed for use during the summer. Couches of wood or clay under the trees also serve as sleeping accommodations during hot weather. A house with a courtyard
[351] is surrounded by a wall of earth. In the southern area, the gar-
[184] dens of the homes are surrounded by hedges.

b. Food

563 Wheat and corn are the staple foods of the people. Rice is a
262 luxury used only for entertaining and festival occasions. Meat is preferred to vegetables, and mutton to beef. Chickens, ducks and other fowl are eaten, but not considered especially desirable. The famous Turfan raisins and Hami (Qomul) melons supply large quantities of fresh fruits for these people. Mare's milk
[272] is drunk extensively, and the noble drink called kumis, horse
[273] milk wine, is considered the most healthful of all sour milk concoctions.

563 For entertaining, camel and horse meat, beef and mutton are
262 served with fresh fruits, crystalized sugar and kumis. Meats
252 may be boiled or roasted. The most common dishes are grilled mutton and kidney, and cold boiled mutton and liver with bread. The favorite dish, called pilav, is made of the fattest mutton or beef cut into small pieces and cooked with rice, chopped carrot, onion, garlic and seedless raisins, cooked in a large cauldron.
[264] Liquid foods are eaten with wooden spoons. Other foods, including thick porridge and pilav, are eaten with the fingers.

/The New Uighurs/

600 can marry easily, and divorce their wives even more easily. A
563 farmer seldom has more than one wife, but a city man usually
[595] has at least two, living in different parts of town. The marriage
[369] age for girls is twelve to fourteen; for boys, fifteen to sixteen.
[582] Matches are arranged by parents, and often the children have
[584] known and played with each other for years. Ceremonies are
563 performed at the girl's first marriage. Her parents invite all
585 their neighbors to a feast, at which the leaders of the mosque
are also present. Together the bride and bridegroom eat some
[152] bread dipped in salt water. Customarily the bride and her
mother weep and wail aloud during the ceremony. The mullahs
are paid a fee for performing the rites, and food and money are
given to beggars. All expenses are paid by the bride's family.
The only liability incurred by the bridegroom is the hagg-i-mihr,
a settlement for his wife. Theoretically the wife can claim this
settlement at any time before her death, but it is never claimed
except at divorce, and occasionally this old tradition is omitted.

A procession of musicians accompanies the bride, who rides a pony or donkey or walks in front of the others from the home of her parents to the home of her husband. When she arrives at her new home, she is lifted over the threshold by her husband and his relatives.

[556] Several days after the wedding, the bride's family, if wealthy, gives one party for the men of the two families, and one for the women.

b. Coming of age

563 Women do not reach their full social status until they are
562 thirty or older, when they attain the dignity of jawanlik. A
885 woman who has reached this age of discretion is called a jawan,
[302] and is privileged to braid her hair in two long plaits.

This coming of age is celebrated by a feast known as jawanlik toi, given by the husband. For the first time the woman appears with her braids, and wearing a special shirt known as the jawan-chi konglak. After this celebration she is more important in the home and commands more respect from others. She is also
[581] worth more on the marriage market, as the younger bride has a tendency to run back to her parents. A New Uighur man would rather obligate himself heavily to marry a good-looking jawan than to take a young girl. The word jawan can always be found
[533] in their love songs, as in the following example:
[539] "Who is it who knows what health is worth?
Not the healthy man who has never been ill.
What woman is it that knows worth in a man?
Not the girl who has never been a jawan." (Skrine 1926:203)

c. Remarriage

563 Remarriage is not condemned in New Uighur society. The
589 average man is a lazy, good-natured, easy-going and rather

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563 796 Yengi-Yil (New Year).

Rōse-hāyt, a solemn holiday, is celebrated in the ninth month according to the Moslem calendar, and lasts three days. The [785] holidays follow the thirty days of Rōse fast, which resembles the Ramadān fast discussed previously. During the three days, everyone stops work and visits friends and relatives. In each [574] household, guests are served meats, boiled eggs, fruits, all [262] kinds of cakes and sweets, and tea.

Kurban-hāyt is also a three-day holiday. On the first day, the orthodox go to the mosques at sunrise and pray for two [184] hours. After they return to their homes, every adult male in a [782] rich family kills a sheep. Among the poor, only the head of the [775] house kills a sheep. These sheep are sacrificed to Allah, who, they believe, will make their journey to the Garden of Eden easier after they die. Then there is celebration and feasting. Musicians play all day long in the streets and bazaars, while both men and women dance.

Yengi-Yil, the New Year, begins with the first lunar month, and is also celebrated for three days. No services are performed in the mosques at this time. Musicians play, and there are singing, dancing and feasting throughout the community. It is the custom for women to sing on swings constructed for the occasion in the bazaar.

563 796 184 [735] Nazara is a celebration observed by the wealthy in connection with weddings, birth and circumcision. The host holds open house for his friends, and gives bread and meat to the poor. As the rich are enjoying the host's hospitality, the poor are clustering at his gate awaiting the distribution of food. Each receives a large loaf of bread and a slice of meat, and is expected to call down the blessings of Allah upon the benefactor. The hospitality and charity extended by the host are considered to enhance his merit.

6. Leisure, music and dancing

563 517 533 535 When the crops are gathered and the field work is completed, both men and women like to visit the bazaars in the neighboring towns. They go for the entertainment, and for the news and gossip circulating in the bazaar. The well-to-do give evening parties for their friends and relatives, and always there is an orchestra at the party, to play for singing and dancing. According to custom, only two persons dance at a time. They dance slowly and smoothly, with no quick or lively movements. Their dancing is very graceful, but monotonous. Party refreshments are cold meats, pastries, fruits and tea.

563 517 Although most of the New Uighurs lead a hard and humdrum type of life, they become gay and animated when they sing and listen to music. They exploit every possible occasion to have a good time—weddings, birthdays, circumcisions, even ablution

563 tales, although predominantly Moslem in character, have many
538 elements of the older beliefs in them too.

Many of the folk tales originated from the old epic tradition of the nomadic Turks. The change from nomadic to settled life, the introduction of elements foreign to the Turks, and most of all, the conversion to Islam, have left a considerable impression on the epic tradition and change the character of what was essentially an expression of a nomadic culture.

563 The song is a very important part of the Eastern Turki cul-
533 tural and social life. It does not, however, play so integral a part of life as with the Turks, among whom the song literally lives with the people and describes every aspect of their lives.
[177] Here, again, both the sedentary life and foreign elements, mainly Persian, have exercised their influence. The Eastern Turki songs are considerably more individualistic than those of the nomads. The tone of the songs is lyrical and highly personal, with scarcely any of the strength and enthusiasm of the songs of the nomads. Themes concerning love, individual fortunes and misfortunes, and different moods constitute the subject matter. The following are examples of the Eastern Turki songs (recorded by C.P.Skrine):

[539] "If my father ask you, if my mother ask you,
Say, 'He is distraught.'
Say, 'His heart is sorrowful, his eyes are full of tears.'
Say he weeps for you."

"My horse is gone from before me
My whip is no more at my side.
Even though this may be my native land
Poverty is come upon me."

"So great is my love for my dear one
Even though I planted it, it could grow no taller.
So fair is the river of my tears,
If I watered my horse from it, he would never be satisfied."

Besides these lyrical songs, strongly influenced by the Persian tradition, there is a small group of songs which still carry the influence of the epic tradition and are partly concerned with the past of the people. These songs are called kuchuk by the Eastern Turks; they are ballads or short epics, and they come closest to the epic tradition of the past. Many stylistic devices are reminiscent of the epic tradition, such as repitition of key phrases, and strongly rhythmic verse. The epic themes, however, are usually absent. Some of the ballads are comic in
[539] character. C.P. Skrine brings an example of a kuchuk, The Sad Story of Mulla Tokhta and the Farthing's Worth of Tripe

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(p. 211):

563 533 539
"Brother Mulla Tokhta, head man of our village
Swagged into market as if he were the mayor.
He hired himself a donkey
And bought a rope for a half penny
And a piece of tripe for a farthing
And hung the tripe from the donkey's neck.
The donkey promptly bolted
And kicked the byjar in the stomach.
Mulla Tokhta walked home with the tripe,
Took his knife without a handle and cut it up,
Took his spoon without a handle and stirred it,
Said, 'Let's have a feed,' and was just sitting down
When in burst six policemen,
Ate up all the tripe and went away."

563 538 The Russians have done considerable study in Taranchi literature and oral tradition because of their access to the area. In addition to the Eastern Turki tradition, the Taranchi texts include the oral art which sprang up in the area since the settling of the Taranchis in the Ili Valley. The most common themes are concerned with the oppression of the Taranchis in the Ili Valley and complaints against the Chinese.

The nomadic tradition is kept in Eastern Turkestan by the Kirghiz and Kazakhs, the majority of whom are still nomads. [101] They belong culturally to the Kirghiz and Kazakhs in Western Turkestan, and have no distinguishing features.

563 533 538 Music, folklore and epic poetry constitute the bulk of the Kazakh and Kirghiz cultural heritage. Because of the way of life and strong clan ties, their folk art is primarily social in character, concerned with problems common to clans and tribes and not so much with the fate of the individual.

Story and music accompany every phase of their life, and all the important occasions in life are expressed in special songs. A Kazakh writer, Abai Kubanco, wrote the following about the [539] importance of the song in the life of the nomadic Turk:

"The song will open the door of the world for you
The song will open the door of death for you
Listen to it, Kazakh, and follow its wisdom
The song travels with you all your life." (from K. Menges' article in Pivot of Asia.)

563 538 Tales and legends also play an important part in the life of the Kirghiz and the Kazakhs. There are many tales of mystery, magic, animal tales and tales about battles and struggles for good pasture land.

The heroic epos is still alive among these nomadic people, and it usually tells of historical events concerning the glory of

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286 Khotan is the most famous of the cities in Sinkiang in the
531 production of the famous oriental rugs, in needlework and also
199 in metal works (Kashgar and Yarkand are also important centers of rug weaving). The design of many of the rugs is a most interesting mixture of Persian and Chinese styles. The whole treatment is unmistakeably Persian, though many small details are Chinese. The same blending of the Far with the Near East is found in the beautiful embroidery of Khotan. The stitch chiefly used in the embroidery is the Turkish chain stitch, which is not found in the embroidery in China, but the wave and cloud patterns, the butterflies and some of the flowers are definitely of Chinese design. Khotan is also famous for its craftsmanship in brass and copper household utensils decorated with elaborate floral designs in pierced metal work.

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286 Kuch in the north has been famous for generations for the
294 gold and silver embroidery on velvet. Women's indoor caps are
531 the chief article of manufacture. The design as a whole is Per-
(199) sian, but the use of circular medallions in embroidery on robes is a Chinese device.

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198 There has been a tremendous decline in all these works of art and articrafts in the present century, mainly because of the availability of factory-manufactured cheap objects of daily use, from both Russia and China proper. Thus, the carpets of Khotan and the surrounding country are slowly disappearing, and their quality has gone down. The expensive handmade items are replaced by the cheap materials provided by modern industry. The class of artists and artisans has declined, since it is impossible for them to compete with new imported products.

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668 The artistic expressions inspired by the new Communist regime are totally different from the old indigenous ones. They center around paintings and statues glorifying the present-day leaders, and describing episodes from the life of the newly "liberated" working class. Nothing could be more foreign to the spirit and traditions of the Eastern Turkis.

E. Music and Dance

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527 The taste for music and dance is highly developed in Sinkiang, and it constitutes the main means of entertainment for important social occasions. There are professional musicians (maghmatchi) organized in bands of three or four individuals, available for hire. At many public feasts, a band is hired for entertainment. The musicians chant as they play their instruments. The tunes are simple, composed primarily for accompaniment to the dance, or, more often, improvised. To the Western-trained ear, both tune and rhythm are monotonous.

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(199) Most of the musical instruments used in these bands are of Persian origin. Grenard lists the following instruments:

Doutar—a long guitar with two strings.

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534 Sitar—very similar to the doutar, but has nine strings which are played with a bow.

Tambur—consisting of five strings that are plucked with the fingers.

Rbab—longer than the previously mentioned instruments, a sort of mandolin with five strings along the front of the instrument and five others of different lengths along the side.

Hechtar—a guitar with eight strings.

Ney—a pipe with eight holes.

Surney—a copper trumpet.

Sipay—antelope horn with iron rings.

Dop—a drum.

Kalun—a kind of psaltery (ancient stringed instrument) made of a wooden box on which eighteen pairs of brass wires are strung, supported by wooden pads, regulated by fixed keys at the side. (The Chinese have a similar instrument, and it is possible that the kalun was brought from China.)

535 The dance is performed by both men and women. Each usually dances by himself, although a man and woman may dance together. They sing as they dance. The dance is fiery and rhythmic. The body sways continuously and the arms play a very important part in expressing the mood of the dancer. When a number of women perform together, they usually form a circle and exchange places. They sometimes arrange themselves in a double line or in pairs, each person dancing in her own place. Like the Turkic music, the dance steps seem dull and unvaried to the unaccustomed Western observer.

This form of dance is quite unknown in the Moslem parts of Western Asia, and would be highly frowned upon. Le Coq is of the opinion that these dances were probably inherited from the old pre-Islamic times. [194] [114]

533 535 177 668 The arts of folk dance and music have been promoted by the Communists as part of their program of nationality cultural activities and expressions. The professional teams of dancers and musicians perform often in the different National Festivals in China and also abroad. More than encouraging the performance of the existing folk dances and music, the Communists have been promoting the creation of the new "folk dance" and "folk music," to express the new era of liberation. A sample of the results obtained is to be found in the following excerpts from so-called Uighur folk songs:

[539] "You have made our land a lovely garden, Mao Tse-tung,
You are the inspiration of our life, Mao Tse-tung,
We know you have our welfare at heart, Mao Tse-tung,
You are the saviour of our people, Mao Tse-tung,
Long live Mao Tse-tung!
Hurrah! Hurrah! Hurrah! Hurrah! Hurrah! H-u-r-r-a-h!"

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"Play your dunbra, dance and sing,
People of different nationalities are now closely knit,
Let's sing the praise of Mao Tse-tung,
Ai, let's sing of Mao Tse-tung!
Our beautiful fields and gardens, our dear native land!"
(Songs of New China, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1953.)

II. Artistic and Intellectual Expression among the Tibetans of Northwest China

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A. Introduction

Chinghai is the most heavily Tibetan-populated area in Northwest China. Culturally, it is very much a part of Tibet proper, although being a border region, its Tibetan inhabitants have come often into close contact with the Chinese and have been greatly influenced by them. The most famous of the Tibetan cultural centers in the area are the Kumbum and Labrang monasteries, where much traditional Lamaist literature and art have been found and are still being produced. The great majority of the Tibetans in the area, however, are members of nomadic tribes, who are largely ignorant of the many cultural treasures of the monasteries. These tribes are the seat of Tibetan folk cultures—song, dance and epic literature. (The distinction between the strictly religious artistic and intellectual expressions and the unwritten folk culture is present through Tibet, and is not peculiar to this area alone.)

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B. Tibetan Literature

Tibetan literature is almost exclusively religious in character. It centers around the religious Buddhist texts translated from Sanskrit into Tibetan, and attempts to explain them, analyze them, relate the lives of saints, eulogize convents and glorify events which are an expression of religious feelings. There are not many secular works, as traditionally the culture was, and has largely remained, the privilege of the monks. The center of Tibetan culture is to be found in the monasteries, and the scholars are the lamas reared and trained in these institutions.

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The Lamaist scriptures, which are faithful translations from Sanskrit texts (Indian, Kashmiri and Nepalese), and a few also from Chinese, were made mostly in the eighth and ninth, eleventh and thirteenth centuries A.D. None of these Tibetan translations, however, seem to have been printed until comparatively recent times.

The Lamaistic scriptures consist of two great collections, the canon and the commentaries (the kah-gyur and the Tangyur). The great code, the Kah-gyur, or "The Translated Com-

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668 and "The achievements in political and judicial work in Sinkiang in the past five years," also in Sinkiang Jih-pao, September 30, 1954, and numerous others.

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*668 5. Other campaigns

Besides the above, special propaganda campaigns as well as routine ones have been launched throughout the years. In the Northwest, at least the following campaigns took place:

1) "The march to wipe out illiteracy" in July, 1952
2) The three anti- and five anti- movements in 1952
3) The start of the first Five-Year Plan in 1953
4) The calling of People's Congresses and the establishment of the Constitution, 1953-54
5) Finishing the land reform missions in agricultural areas of Sinkiang, 1953
6) The practice of minority autonomy, 1953
7) The increase of production and the austerity movement, 1953
8) The strengthening education as a whole and training minority cadres in particular movement, 1953
9) The denunciation of the U.S.-Chiang Joint Defense Pact (over Formosa) in 1955
10) The criticism of capitalistic ideas among the peasant Party members in Shensi in 1955
11) The signature movement against the use of the atomic bomb, in 1955
12) The suppression of counter-revolutionary movements at various times
13) The killing sparrows movement in 1955 (Chung-kuo ch'ing-nien pao, December 24, 1955. Because of the extreme shortage of food, the Communists started to pay attention to all birds, rodents, insects and worms that might consume food. They singled out a few, including sparrows, as targets of campaigns. In this case, the movement started in Kansu and spread to the whole nation.)

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668 B. The Content
533 The flavor of the contents can be sampled in the following paragraphs:
539 1) A praising song used by a Sinkiang group:

You, Giant Mao Tse-tung,
Brought freedom to the people
You, Hero Mao Tse-tung,
Brought brightness to the people
You, Father Mao Tse-tung,
Saved the suffering people.
In the past we were ill-treated
And had no interest to produce;

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Now we have emerged to be honored,
And happily we produce;
From now on we will never be suppressed by the enemies again.
In the beautiful garden there appear the dawn and spring,
The sun appears in the east;
The people blessedly sing:
With only one heart and only one will,
To follow the Communist Party forever.
(Hsin-kuan-ch'a, 1953, No. 15, p. 27.)

2) Another song for the minorities:

When my heart thinks of Mao Tse-tung,
The sun turns red at midnight;
When my eyes see Mao Tse-tung,
The dark mountain paths open wide;
When my mouth talks about Mao Tse-tung,
My fatigue gone, I work day and night;
When my fellow-travellers mention Mao Tse-tung,
My thousand-pound burden suddenly becomes light. (Wen-i-pao, 1954, No. 2, p. 30: "All the Nationalities sing about Chairman Mao".)

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## VI. The Effect and Influence of Propaganda

### A. Factors Contributing to Success

As a whole, the propaganda program of the Communists has been successful. The success is mainly due to the fact that the Communists have completely shut off all other sources of information. They are the only ones to provide news. Moreover, the repetition, the persistency, the thoroughness and the dead seriousness of the Communists make it hard for people to disbelieve. This is especially true of the youth. The effect of the Communist propaganda is clearly illustrated in the following examples:

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1) My name is Ahbuduzheyimu Tsake. I am a Young Pioneer of Uighur nationality. I am 14 years old and attending the first grade of the No. 2 Teacher's School in Tihua. My father is a blacksmith. Before the liberation my family was so poor that we could not get enough money to buy food or clothes...when Sinkiang was liberated the sunshine of the era of Mao Tse-tung began to illuminate every town, every village and every pasture north and south of Tienshan Mountain. My father became much more enthusiastic about his work and life in our family became better and better.... In January, 1950, several schoolmates and I were admitted to the ranks of the Young Pioneers. From then on I made up my mind to study hard, to build up my body and to be a good pupil of Chairman Mao Tse-tung. (New China